DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 081 888 UD 013 838

AUTHOR Della Fave, L. Richard
TITLE Success Values: Are They Universal or Class-Differentiated?
PUB DATE Aug 73
NOTE 26p.; Paper presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting, New York, N. Y., August 1973

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Academic Aspiration; Class Attitudes; Expectation; *High School Students; Income; *Occupational Aspiration; *Personal Values; *Social Differences; Social Stratification; Social Values; Sociology; *Success Factors; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS Massachusetts

ABSTRACT

There has been a long-standing controversy concerning success values in American society. While one position maintains that success values are more or less uniformly distributed throughout the class structure, another position holds that the amount or kind of success to which people aspire shows a consistent and positive relationship to their position in the class structure. A third position states that those who hold that the basic values of society are common to all classes are correct, because the members of the lower class do share these values with other members of society. Similarly, those who hold that the values differ from class to class are also correct, because the members of the lower-class share values unique to themselves in addition to sharing the general values of society with others. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to test the validity of such a synthetic approach. Three types of success values are involved in the present research, educational, occupational, and income aspirations. Questionnaires were administered to 707 male high school students, grades nine through twelve, who were drawn from four different school systems in Western Massachusetts. An effort was made to secure adequate representation of all social classes, major religious groups, curricula (college preparatory vs. terminal), and grade levels. This objective was achieved, except for an under-representation of terminal students. No set of universal, i.e., non-class-differentiated values was found. (Author/JM)

ED 081888

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

SUCCESS VALUES: ARE THEY UNIVERSAL OR CLASS-DIFFERENTIATED?

L. Richard Della Fave

Department of Sociology

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

UD 013838

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SUCCESS VALUES: ARE THEY UNIVERSAL OR CLASS-DIFFERENTIATED?[1]

There has been a long-standing controversy concerning success values in American society. The classic positions in this controversy have been those of Robert Merton (1957a, 1957b) and Herbert Hyman (1953). In Merton's earlier work (1957a) success values were assumed to be more or less uniformly distributed throughout the class structure. Hyman, however, maintained that the amount or kind of success to which people aspire shows a consistent and positive relationship to their position in the class structure. In his words, "To put it simply, the lower-class individual doesn't want as much success as his middle or upper-class counterpart, he knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success" (Hyman, 1953:427).[2]

Hyman Rodman (1963) reopened the controversy by pointing out that in each of the surveys reanalyzed by Hyman the level of success to which the respondent aspired was measured by means of a <u>single response</u> (1963: 211). Such measurement, he contends, is inadequate since success values are complex, i.e., composed of a number of aspects or components.

Rodman argues for a synthesis of earlier positions. He maintains that both Merton and Hyman are partially correct.

> Those who hold that the basic values of society are common to all classes are correct, because the members of the lower-class do share these values with other members of society. Similarly, those who hold that the values differ from class to class are also correct, because the members of the lower-class share values

> unique to themselves in addition to sharing the general values of society with others. The theories are both correct, both incomplete and complimentary to one another (1963:210, italics mine).

Rodman offers the concept of 'the lower-class value stretch' (to be referred to simply as 'the value stretch') as a possible means of resolving the controversy (1963:205).[3] Values are seen by Rodman not as a single or fixed point, but rather as encompassing a range (Rodman 1963:211) which is bounded at the top by an ideal or preferred level of value (preference), and at the bottom by what could best be called a minimal level of acceptability (tolerance). For example, a person may prefer that others with whom he becomes friends share his political views or his literary tastes very closely. He may, however, be willing to accept as friends people whose views and tastes differ widely from his own.

The distinction between preference and tolerance is crucial to an understanding of the value stretch. With respect to success, Rodman asserts, there exists a universal, level of preference that is shared throughout the class structure. However, with respect to tolerance he sees a class-differentiated value system. Thus, what differentiates the success values of those at the top of the class structure from those at the bottom is not their ideals but rather that which they consider minimally acceptable (Rodman 1963:208-209).

If preference is similar for all classes while tolerance varies directly with class, the lower classes will have a wider range of values than either the middle or upper classes. It is this wider range of values

characteristic of the lower classes that Rodman (1963:208-209) calls the value stretch.

In order to understand the process by which the values of the lower classes become stretched it is necessary to introduce a third component of values, i.e., expectation, the level of a given value that an individual actually hopes or plans to attain. It is because the members of the lower classes see limited opportunities for success that they set relatively low levels of expectation.[4] The result is that they come to look with acceptance or even with favor upon what they see themselves as able to achieve (Rodman 1963:209). This means that tolerance is lowered, thereby stretching the value range.

Each of the three basic value components represents a single point along a range of values [as shown in Figure 1]. The value range can be defined as the "distance" between preference and tolerance. Two more variables remain to be defined. The "distance" between preference and expectation (reconciliation gap) indicates the size of the discrepancy between an individual's ideal and his actual plans. If preference is the same for all classes while expectation varies directly with class, it is logical to expect that reconciliation gap will be wider for the lower classes than for those above them.

The "distance" between tolerance and expectation (satisfaction gain) represents the degree that plans exceed the level of minimal acceptability. While Rodman gives no basis for predicting the relative size of satisfaction gain for the respective social classes, he does imply that, if value stretching is taking place, expectation will seldom fall to a level below

that of tolerance which would produce negative values of satisfaction gain.

Figure 1 About Here

Six hypotheses can be derived from the above analysis of the value stretch.

H_1 Preference will not vary systematically with social class.

H_2 Expectation will vary directly with social class.

H_3 Tolerance will vary directly with social class.

H_4 Reconciliation gap will vary inversely with social class.

H_5 Value range will vary inversely with social class.

H_6 Satisfaction gain will be negative for only a very small proportion of the members of any social class.

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to test the validity of Rodman's synthetic approach to the success values controversy. Three types of success values are involved in the present research, educational, occupational, and income aspirations.[5] Despite the extensive literature on aspirations, there has yet to be a single study in which aspirations are treated in terms of all three of the value components discussed above. In addition, much of the existing evidence is either contradictory or extremely sketchy.[6]

Only the findings pertaining to expectation are both fully consistent and extensive. In each of a large number of studies [e.g., Sewell and Shah 1967, 1968a, 1968b; Caro and Pihlblad 1965; Turner 1964; Simpson 1962; Bordua 1960; Holloway and Berreman 1959; Sewell, Haller, and Strauss 1957; Stepehnson 1957; Empey 1956; Berdie 1954] expectation was found to vary directly with social class.

Two recent studies by Han (1969) and Rodman and Voydanoff (1969), unlike earlier ones, are addressed directly to the present controversy. Han (1969:687) concludes that he has found universal or common values with respect to preference and class-differentiated values with respect to expectation, among a sample of high school boys. But this study displays a number of shortcomings. First, nowhere is the relationship between social class and aspirations actually measured directly; conclusions are based on indirect evidence (Han 1969:687).[7] Second, occupational, educational and income aspirations are thrown together to form a composite index. It is therefore impossible to compare the configurations of the three kinds of aspirations. Finally, since there is no attempt to measure tolerance, no test of some of the hypotheses derived from the value stretch can be made from Han's data.

Rodman and Voydanoff (1969) studied a sample of parents of Black youngsters in kindergarten and found a common level of preference and a class-differentiated level of tolerance in these parents' aspirations for their children. The value range was found to be inversely related to social class. Their study employed no measure of expectation. As in Han's study (1969) the findings are in accord with the value stretch hypotheses.

What must be questioned here is Rodman and Voydanoff's approach to the measurement of preference. Preference is ascertained, in the case of educational aspirations for example, by presenting the respondent with a series of levels of attainment ranging from completion of the sixth grade up to the completion of some graduate work, and asking the parents how happy they would be if their child were to stop school after having reached

each of these levels. The highest level to which the respondent gave a positive response was taken as the upper bound of his value range, i.e., preference. As might be expected, very few said they would not be happy with the highest level of attainment (Rodman and Voydanoff 1969:9-10). But this is not a very telling indicator of a person's ideal aspiration. It requires that a person go so far as to reject a high level of attainment, by stating explicitly that he would not be happy with it, in order for the researcher to infer that it is not his ideal. The method used in this study requires the respondent to state positively which of a number of levels of attainment is, in fact, his ideal. This method is discussed below.

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Questionnaires were administered to 707 male high school students in grades nine through twelve[8] who were drawn from four different school systems in western Massachusetts.[9] Since probability sampling was not possible,[10] an effort was made to secure adequate representation of all social classes, major religious groups, curricula (college preparatory versus terminal), and grade levels. This objective was achieved, except for an under-representation of terminal students.

Table 1 About Here

Social class was determined by means of the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position (1957). Each of the three basic value components was measured by means of a separate question for occupational, educational,

and income aspirations, making a total of nine questions in all. The questions used for occupational aspirations will serve as examples:

Preference - "If you could acquire the qualifications needed to work at any job you wanted, what type of job would you choose?"

Expectation - "What type of job do you think you will actually be working at after you have finished your education?"

Tolerance - "When you have finished your schooling would you be at all willing to work at the occupations listed below?" This question was followed by a checklist consisting of 28 randomly selected occupations representing all seven status levels of the Hollingshead Index (1957) mentioned above.

Each of these three value components is measured in terms of a set of categories ranked from low to high; six for education, seven for occupation, and nine for income. The size of reconciliation gap is simply the number of categories separating preference from expectation.[11] Value range and satisfaction gain are measured in the same manner using the appropriate pairs of components.

RESULTS

The findings are presented below in the form of cross tabulations showing the degree of association (Gamma) between social class and five of the six aspiration variables. In the case of the sixth variable, satisfaction gain, the absolute size of the percentages is the focus of attention.

H_1 Preference will not vary systematically with social class.

It is in terms of preference that a common level of success values is predicted for all classes. The data shown in Table 2 fail to confirm this hypothesis. For each of the three types of aspirations dealt with in this study there is a moderate to weak positive relationship between social class and preference.[12] These data show only a slight difference in the size of the relationship between class and preference, from one type of aspirations to the next.

Table 2 About Here

H_2 Expectation will vary directly with social class.

Class-differentiated levels of aspiration, defined as expectations, have been found repeatedly in previous studies, and a similar finding emerges here. While there is a good deal of variation in the strength of the association between social class and expectation from one type of aspiration to another, in every case the relationship is clearly present and in the predicted direction.

Table 3 About Here

H_3 Tolerance will vary directly with social class.

As in the case of expectation, a class-differentiated pattern of aspirations is also expected here. If Rodman is correct, the lower levels of expectation found among the lower class respondents will have led these individuals to lower their levels of tolerance as well. (This point will

be explored further under H_6). Our data show that tolerance is in fact lower for the lower classes.[13]

Table 4 About Here

H_4 Reconciliation gap will vary inversely with social class.

Unlike the first three hypotheses, this one deals not with a single value component but rather with the size of the gap or distance between two components for a given individual, the components in this case being preference and expectation. The data (see Table 5) indicate partial confirmation. There is evidence of a rather weak relationship between class and both educational and occupational reconciliation gap. Virtually no relationship was found in the income area.

Table 5 About Here

H_5 Value range will vary inversely with social class.

This hypothesis represents perhaps the most crucial test of the value stretch. Do the members of the lower classes actually have a wider, "stretched" range of values when compared with those higher in the class structure? The data in Table 6 show that they do not. There is virtually no difference in the size of the value range by social class for any of the three types of aspirations studied.

But even though the data fail to confirm this hypothesis, they do lend support to one of Rodman's principal assumptions, namely that values are most accurately described as a range rather than as a single point.[14]

Table 6 About Here

H_6 Satisfaction gain will be negative for only a very small proportion of the members of any social class.

This prediction is based on the assumption that relatively low levels of expectation will be accompanied by correspondingly low levels of tolerance, the effect of which would be to have expectation fall inside that range of values that an individual considers to be at least minimally acceptable. On the one hand, the data (see Table 7) support this hypothesis for both educational and occupational aspirations. Only 3.4% and 4.1% respectively fell into the negative category. On the other hand, in the income area fully 16.2% were negative. No explanation for this difference is offered here.

Table 7 About Here

All of the above relationships between class and aspirations were controlled for the respondent's grade level (freshman, sophomore, etc.), curriculum (college preparatory or terminal), religion, size of family, and birth order respectively. None of these factors systematically altered the strength of the zero-order relationships.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has been an attempt to determine whether Rodman's concept, 'the value stretch' is useful in resolving the success values controversy. Briefly, Rodman's approach takes the form of a synthesis of the two opposing positions. We expected to find common values in terms of preference and class-differentiated values in terms of both expectation and tolerance. The

findings showed that all three value components are positively related to class to a similar degree. The strength of the relationships ranged from weak to moderate, indicating a considerable amount of overlap in aspirations from class to class. No set of universal, i.e., non-class-differentiated values was found. This lends support to Hyman's position while contradicting the recent findings of Han (1969) and Rodman and Voydanoff (1969).[15]

The findings also failed to confirm Rodman's hypothesis that the members of the lower classes possess a wider range of values than those above them in the class structure. The picture drawn by the data is complex. While there is considerable variability in the size of the value range, it takes the form of intra rather than inter-class variation. Also, as one descends the class ladder, the entire value range moves downward, not just its lower boundary, tolerance, as Rodman maintains. However, Rodman's contention that values are most accurately described as a range rather than a single point is largely borne out.

Finally, the prevalence of negative satisfaction gain appears to be very low, as predicted, especially in terms of educational and occupational aspirations. This would suggest that the lower classes, at least among whites, are reasonably accepting of their relatively lower levels of expectation. But this need not come as a surprise since, in absolute terms, their expectations are fairly high.[16]

Of course, the type of respondents used here places a number of limitations on the extent to which it is possible to generalize from these findings. All of our respondents were male high school students. It is possible that the stretched values which Rodman expects to develop in the

lower classes may not develop to any appreciable extent within this segment of the population until they have spent some time out in the world of work (see Carter 1966). Youngsters who are still in school have not yet had to adjust to the job ceiling many of them will surely face.

It is also possible that stretched values develop only in response to the severe deprivation suffered by the very poor, who are not well represented among our respondents, even those in Class V, or by the lower-class members of racial minorities such as Blacks. Studies that could answer these questions do not yet exist.

FOOTNOTES

[1]This paper is, in large measure, a revision of a portion of my doctoral dissertation (Della Fave 1971). I wish to thank William J. Wilson, Milton M. Gordon, and Albert Chevan for their many helpful comments.

[2]In a later work, Merton (1957b:174-175) conceded that Hyman's conclusions on this point were probably correct, though he pointed out that a very large number of persons even in the lowest social class endorsed lofty success values.

[3]The value stretch itself is a complex concept containing numerous implicit assumptions and propositions, and has received detailed explication elsewhere (Della Fave 1972, 1971).

[4]This does not mean that the lower-class person necessarily sees himself as deprived or is dissatisfied with the extent of the opportunities that he perceives, only that what he sees is limited when viewed in terms of the full range of opportunities available in the society as a whole.

[5]It was these three types of aspirations that have occupied center stage in this controversy since the early exchange between Merton (1957a) and Hyman (1953). The role of education, occupation, and income as the foundation of our system of stratification has been well explicated (Duncan 1961; Kahl and Davis 1955).

[6]For example, in two studies of the occupational aspirations of high school students (Empey 1956; Caro and Pihlblad 1965) it was found that preference varied directly with social class. However, Stephenson (1957), in a similar study, found no variation in preference by class. Finally, Holloway and Berreman (1959) found no variation in preference by class in the case of educational aspirations, but a positive relationship with class in the case of occupational aspirations.

Findings with respect to reconciliation gap are also inconsistent. In those few studies in which this variable was measured, Empey (1956) found the size of the gap to be invariant across classes, while both Stephenson (1957) and Caro and Pihlblad (1965) found that it varies inversely with social class.

Data on tolerance come from a single study. Rosen (1959) found that for a sample of male elementary and high school students and their mothers, tolerance varied directly with social class.

[7]Han found preference to be unaffected by perceptions of limited opportunity while expectation showed an inverse relationship with this variable. He reasoned that those in the lower class were more keenly aware of limitations on opportunity, and, therefore, inferred that social class is not related to preference, but is inversely related to expectation.

[8]Usable questionnaires were returned by 93% of the students. Excluded from the analysis were 20 non-white respondents (5.2%) whose numbers were too small for separate analysis.

[9]These include a prestigeous private academy, public schools in a university town and in a medium sized industrial city, and a large urban Catholic high school.

[10]Strictly speaking, our respondents constitute a population rather than a sample. For this reason no tests of statistical significance are employed in the presentation of the data. For a detailed discussion of the logic behind this decision see Della Fave (1971:63-65).

[11]This, if preference is a Status II occupation while expectation is at Status III, reconciliation gap = 1. In the case where both preference and expectation are at the same level, reconciliation gap = 0. And in the anomalous case where expectation is at a higher level than preference, reconciliation gap takes on a negative gap.

[12]These findings are in agreement with those of Empey (1956) and Caro and Pihlblad (1965) and contradict those of Stephenson (1957). They also contradict Holloway and Berreman's (1959) conclusion that there is a common level of preference in educational but not in occupational aspirations.

[13]These findings are substantial agreement with Rosen's (1959) findings on occupational aspirations.

[14]This is shown by the fact that the "zero" category in Table 6, which includes individuals whose aspirations can be described in terms of a single point, almost never accounts for more than one quarter of the respondents, and usually represents a good deal less, while the widest category accounts for between one or two thirds of the respondents in the educational and occupational areas.

[15]A possible explanation of this contradiction between our findings and their's is offered above on pages 5-6.

[16]For example, in the area of occupation, slightly more than half of the boys in the lowest class (Class V) expect to enter upper-level white collar jobs when they finish school, and more than 35% of the Class V boys expect to finish at least four years of college.

That these aspirations are unrealistically high is undeniable. Nevertheless, they are little different in this respect from those reported in countless other studies. What is difficult to explain is why those students who are most accurate in estimating the educational requirements for and the income likely to be derived from a number of selected occupations are no less lofty in their aspirations than those who are much less accurate in their estimates (data not presented in this paper).

REFERENCES

Berdie, Ralph

1954 After High School, What? Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bordua, David J.

1960 "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces 38 (March):262-269.

Caro, Francis G. and C. Terrence Pihlblad

1965 "Aspirations and Expectations: A Reexamination of the Bases For Social Class Difference in Occupational Orientations of Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research 49 (July):465-475.

Carrer, Michael

1966 Into Work. Baltimore: Penguin.

Della Fave, L. Richard

1972 "The Value Stretch: An Explication," unpublished manuscript.

1971 "The Value Stretch: An Empirical Test," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts.

Duncan, Otis Dudley

1961 "A Socioeconomic Index for All Occupations in Albert J. Reiss, ed., Occupations and Social Status. Glencoe, Ill. Free Press.

Empey, Lamar T.

1956 "Social Class and Occupational Aspirations," American Sociological Review 21 (December):703-709.

Han, Wan Sang

1968 "Two Conflicting Themes: Common Values Versus Class Differential Values," American Sociological Review 34 (October): 679-690.

Hollingshead, August B.

1957 Two Factor Index of Social Position. New Haven: Yale Station.

Holloway, Robert G. and Joel V. Berreman

1959 "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review 2 (Fall):56-60.

Hyman, Herbert H.

1953 "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social-Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Rinehard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Kahl, Joseph A. and James A. Davis

1955 "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review 20 (June):317-325.

Merton, Robert K.

1957a "Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, ed., Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

1957b "Continuities in the Theory of Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, ed., Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Rodman, Hyman

1963 "The Lower Class Value Stretch," Social Forces 42 (December): 205-215.

Rodman, Hyman and Patricia Voydanoff

1969 "Social Class and Parents' Aspirations for Their Children," Merrill-Palmer Institute, mimeo.

Rosen, Bernard C.

1959 "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review 24 (February):47-60.

Sewell, William H., Archie O. Haller, and Murray A. Straus

1957 "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review 22 (February):67-73.

Sewell, William H. and Vimal P. Shah

1968a "Parents' Education and Children's Educational Aspirations and Achievements," American Sociological Review 33 (April):191-209.

1968b "Social Class, Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology 74 (November):559-572.

1967 "Socioeconomic Status, Intelligence, and the Attainment of Higher Education," Sociology of Education 40 (Winter):1-23.

Simpson, Richard

1962 "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review 27 (August):517-522.

Stephenson, Richard

1957 "Mobility Orientations and Stratification of 1000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review 22 (April):204-212.

Turner, Ralph H.

1964 The Social Context of Ambition. San Francisco: Chandler.

Figure 1

Components of Values

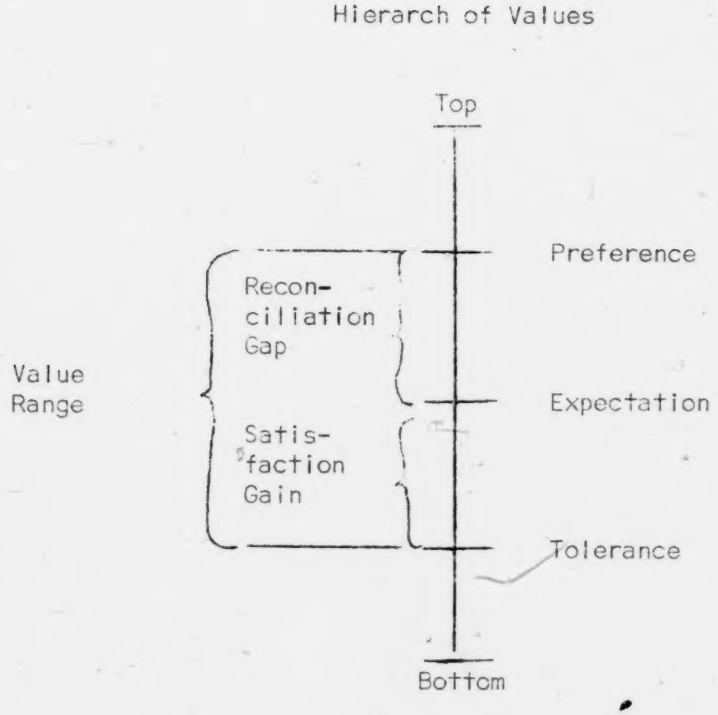

TABLE 1

Distribution of Respondents by Social Class, Religion, Grade Level, and Curriculum

Social Class

	I	II	III	IV	V	No Answer	Total
#	(138)	(74)	(129)	(236)	(84)	(46)	(707)
%	17.4	10.5	17.7	33.4	11.9	9.1	100

Religion

	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Other	None	No Answer	Total
#	(428)	(213)	(16)	(11)	(32)	(7)	(707)
%	60.5	30.1	2.3	1.6	4.6	0.9	100

Grade Level

	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	No Answer	Total
#	(161)	(179)	(171)	(195)	(1)	(707)
%	22.8	25.3	24.2	27.6	0.1	100

Curriculum

	College Prep	General	Other	No Answer	Total
#	(521)	(148)	(18)	(20)	(707)
%	73.7	20.9	2.5	2.8	100

Table 2

Preference by Social Class

Educational Preference $\gamma = .36$

Social Class	Less than 4 years of college	4 years of college	More than 4 years of college	Total %	N
Total	20.4%	29.3%	50.2%	100	617
I	7.5	21.8	70.7	100	133
II	6.8	34.2	58.9	100	73
III	17.2	34.4	48.4	100	122
IV	28.8	28.8	42.3	100	215
V	37.8	31.1	31.1	100	74

Occupational Preference $\gamma = .28$

Social Class	Upper White Collar I	Upper White Collar II	Middle & Lower White Collar III, IV	Blue Collar V, VI, VII	Total %	N
Total	48.4%	22.8%	18.8%	8.5%	100	534
I	71.3	16.5	9.6	2.6	100	115
II	50.0	29.7	18.7	1.6	100	64
III	49.5	19.2	21.2	10.1	100	99
IV	41.3	27.0	20.6	11.1	100	189
V	40.3	19.4	25.4	14.9	100	67

Income Preference $\gamma = .27$

Social Class	Less Than $200/wk.	Between $200-299/wk.	Between $300-499/wk.	$500 or more/wk.	Total %	N
Total	18.0%	32.9%	23.1%	26.0%	100	605
I	13.3	24.2	26.6	35.9	100	128
II	8.7	24.6	30.4	36.2	100	69
III	13.4	31.9	23.5	31.1	100	119
IV	21.9	39.1	20.5	18.6	100	215
V	31.7	39.2	17.6	12.2	100	74

Table 3

Expectation by Social Class

Educational Expectation $\gamma = .51$

Social Class	Less than 4 years of college	4 years of college	More than 4 years of college	Total %	N
Total	34.5%	41.3%	24.1%	100	617
I	11.3	36.8	51.9	100	133
II	15.1	52.1	32.9	100	73
III	32.8	51.6	15.6	100	122
IV	46.3	39.8	13.9	100	216
V	64.4	26.0	9.6	100	73

Occupational Expectation $\gamma = .33$

Social Class	Upper White Collar I	Upper White Collar II	Middle & Lower White Collar III, IV	Blue Collar V, VI, VII	Total %	N
Total	41.4%	25.9%	20.7%	12.0%	100	483
I	68.0	17.5	11.6	3.0	100	103
II	47.2	28.3	22.6	1.9	100	53
III	34.8	27.2	26.0	12.0	100	92
IV	32.8	29.9	20.8	16.6	100	174
V	26.2	24.6	26.3	22.9	100	61

Income Expectation $\gamma = .23$

Social Class	Less Than $200/wk.	Between $200-299/wk.	Between $300-499/wk.	$500 or more/wk.	Total %	N
Total	43.5%	27.5%	17.9%	11.0%	100	581
I	35.0	24.8	24.8	15.4	100	117
II	35.4	21.5	20.0	23.1	100	65
III	41.2	23.7	22.8	12.3	100	114
IV	48.6	31.6	12.7	7.1	100	212
V	53.4	31.5	12.3	2.7	100	73

Table 4

Tolerance by Social Class

Educational Tolerance $\gamma = .33$

Social Class	H. S. Graduation or Less	Jr. College or Trade School Grad.	4 or more years of college	Total %	N
Total	31.0%	30.2%	38.8%	100	609
I	19.8	22.1	58.0	100	131
II	19.4	25.0	55.6	100	72
III	30.3	34.4	35.2	100	122
IV	34.9	35.8	29.2	100	212
V	52.8	26.4	20.8	100	72

Occupational Tolerance $\gamma = .32$

Social Class	Upper & Middle White Collar (I, II, III)	Lower Wt. Collar (IV)	Blue Collar (V, VI, VII)	Total %	N
Total	20.5%	20.2%	59.3%	100	590
I	29.3	32.5	38.2	100	123
II	33.8	23.9	42.3	100	71
III	17.1	17.9	65.0	100	117
IV	16.3	13.0	70.7	100	208
V	9.9	19.7	70.4	100	71

Income Tolerance $\gamma = .20$

Social Class	Less than $150/wk.	Between $150-199/wk.	Between $200-299/wk.	$300 or More/wk.	Total %	N
Total	31.4%	28.5%	25.4%	14.7%	100	599
I	21.1	28.9	25.0	25.0	100	128
II	27.9	25.0	29.4	17.6	100	68
III	33.1	21.5	28.9	16.5	100	121
IV	33.3	33.8	24.8	8.1	100	210
V	44.4	27.8	18.1	9.7	100	72

Table 5

Reconciliation Gap by Social Class

Educational Reconciliation Gap $\gamma = -.22$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2 or more	Total %	N
Total	60.5%	29.4%	10.1%	100	615
I	75.0	22.0	3.0	100	132
II	67.1	28.8	4.1	100	73
III	54.9	34.4	10.7	100	122
IV	54.4	32.1	13.5	100	215
V	54.8	27.4	17.8	100	73

Occupational Reconciliation Gap $\gamma = -.15$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2 or more	Total %	N
Total	80.4%	10.2%	9.5%	100	453
I	86.9	6.1	7.1	100	99
II	81.6	8.2	10.2	100	49
III	78.6	9.5	11.9	100	84
IV	79.1	11.7	9.2	100	163
V	74.1	15.5	10.3	100	58

Income Reconciliation Gap $\gamma = .06$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2 or more	Total %	N
Total	45.0%	29.9%	25.1%	100	578
I	42.7	30.8	26.5	100	117
II	42.2	31.3	26.6	100	64
III	43.9	28.1	28.1	100	114
IV	46.7	30.0	23.3	100	210
V	47.9	30.1	21.9	100	73

Total 6

Value Range by Social Class

Educational Value Range $\gamma = -.08$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2 or more	Total %	N
Total	25.4%	32.2%	42.5%	100	603
I	25.4	38.5	36.2	100	130
II	31.9	34.7	33.3	100	72
III	24.6	28.7	46.7	100	122
IV	24.5	28.4	47.1	100	208
V	22.5	35.2	42.3	100	71

Occupational Value Range $\gamma = -.05$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2	3 or more	Total %	N
Total	9.3%	11.1%	17.5%	62.1%	100	514
I	12.7	9.1	18.2	60.0	100	110
II	3.2	12.9	27.4	56.5	100	62
III	8.4	9.5	17.9	64.2	100	95
IV	11.5	11.5	14.3	62.6	100	182
V	4.6	13.8	15.4	66.2	100	65

Income Value Range $\gamma = .06$

Social Class	Negative and 0	Positive 1	Positive 2	Positive 3 or more	Total %	N
Total	23.3%	33.0%	25.3%	18.4%	100	588
I	25.8	30.6	22.6	21.0	100	124
II	16.4	29.9	34.3	19.4	100	67
III	22.7	26.9	31.1	19.3	100	119
IV	24.2	39.1	18.4	18.4	100	207
V	23.9	32.4	32.4	11.3	100	71

Table 7

Satisfaction Gain by Social Class

Educational Satisfaction Gain

Social Class	Negative	0	Positive 1	2 or more	Total %	N
Total	3.4%	40.0%	26.3%	30.3%	100	604
I	1.5	34.7	32.3	31.5	100	130
II	6.9	37.5	25.0	30.6	100	72
III	2.5	40.1	23.0	34.4	100	122
IV	3.8	43.1	22.5	30.6	100	209
V	4.2	42.3	33.8	19.7	100	71

Occupational Satisfaction Gain

Social Class	Negative	0	Positive 1	2	3 or more	Total %	N
Total	4.1%	8.3%	12.4%	20.4%	54.9%	100	461
I	1.0	15.5	12.4	17.5	53.6	100	97
II	3.9	3.9	9.8	27.5	54.9	100	51
III	2.3	7.9	13.6	18.2	58.0	100	88
IV	6.0	9.0	10.2	20.4	54.5	100	167
V	3.4	1.8	19.0	22.4	53.4	100	58

Income Satisfaction Gain

Social Class	Negative	0	Positive 1	2 or more	Total %	N
Total	16.2%	36.0%	28.0%	19.8%	100	567
I	13.9	46.1	20.0	20.0	100	115
II	14.5	30.6	29.0	25.8	100	62
III	19.3	29.8	31.6	19.3	100	114
IV	15.5	36.9	29.1	18.4	100	206
V	18.6	31.4	31.4	18.6	100	70